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THE TRUTH ABOUT ALTO ADIGE

- ITALY -

By G. Almirante, A. Mitolo, R. Ceccon and M. Lorandi

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THE TRUTH ABOUT ALTO ADIGE

- ITALY -

[Following is a translation of two of three parts of a brochure entitled La Verità sull' Alto Adige - "The Truth about Alto Adige" - by Giorgio Almirante, Andrea Mitolo, Rene Ceccon and Maurizio Lorandi, Rome, 1959, pages 17-56]

PART ONE: HISTORY OF THE ALTO ADIGE ISSUE

A. The De Gasperi-Gruber Agreement and the Obligations Assumed by Italy

According to official figures, at the end of the second world war the status of the population of Alto Adige with respect to Italian citizenship was as follows (see p. 77 of the Libro Bianco - White Book - published by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers - Regional Office:

- a. About 100,000 Italian-speaking Italian citizens
- b. About 12,000 Ladin-speaking Italian citizens
- c. About 50,000 non-natives who had elected Italian citizenship
- d. About 155,000 non-natives who had elected German citizenship and were awaiting expatriation.

In addition, about 45,000 non-natives who had elected to return to Germany had already been expatriated during the war.

The legal majority was therefore largely in favor of the Italian language group, and the 50,000 who had elected to remain in Italy certainly did not harbor hostile sentiments toward the citizens of Italian speech. All these factors promised a peaceful and serene future of cordial co-existence and fruitful collaboration for Alto Adige.

But the new provisional Austrian government had hardly been formed in Vienna in 1945 when it published its intention to request a return of all of Alto Adige to Austria, in modification of decisions reached at St. Germain in 1919. She justified the request on the basis of a necessity to reestablish the destroyed unity of the Tyrol. Thus in January of 1946, the provisional Austrian government submitted a formal request for territorial realignment to the temporary delegates of the Foreign Ministers meeting in London.

On May 1, 1946, the council of Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris turned down this first formal request for reannexation of Alto Adige to Austria.

Austria then submitted a second request for a lesser readjustment limited to the High Valley of the Sarco and the Valley of Pusteria,

including the city of Bressanone. To justify the request, she indicated the necessity of eliminating the serious impediments that the Brenner frontier caused the system of railroad communications between Innsbruck and Klagenfurt, but on June 24, 1946, even this second request was turned down by the council of Foreign Ministers who declared, "Only a study of possible Italian guarantees to Austrian traffic between Northern and Eastern Tyrol across the Brenner San Candido line is worthy of examination and consideration."

The territorial question was thus closed in full conformity, moreover, with the following:

1. The 1943 Moscow Conference decision "that Austria would be restored to her 1937 frontiers and with the succeeding Government Treaty (Trattato di Stato) of June 1955 (art. 5 and 11) through which Austria reacquired sovereignty within the limits of her pre-war frontiers.

2. The statements made by the English representative Bevin who, on February 21, 1946, affirmed that, "the great economic potential that the Italians have created in Alto Adige cannot be ignored." The Russian representative Vishinskij, in turn, declared that, "Russia is absolutely against any Italian territorial sacrifice in the Alto Adige area, because Italy was under no obligation whatever to Austria."

De Gasperi himself was originally of the conviction that Italian obligations in the matter be limited to whatever the victorious allies and a generous sense of humanity might suggest. According to the Carrandini version, he had, in fact, stated in August of 1946 that, "We can meet with Austria on the two questions of international character, that is, the facilitation of railroad and highway traffic across the frontier and the revision of provisions made for citizenship operations."

If subsequently the De Gasperi-Gruber Agreement went far beyond the limits, not only of the suggestions by the Foreign Ministers council, but also of the original intentions of the Hon. Mr. De Gasperi himself, it can undoubtedly be ascribed to the great generosity of Italian governments which have always sought to favor a non-native German minority in excess of the demands of any obligation and of every reasonable right.

B. How Italy has upheld the Agreements

The press of the Volkspartei (People's Party) and the Austrian Press erroneously call the document signed on September 5, 1946 in Paris "Pariser Vertrag" (Treaty of Paris). It cannot be considered a treaty either in form or in substance. It was not countersigned by the chiefs of state involved, nor was it ever subjected to examination and ratification by the respective parliaments. It is therefore an obligation rebus sic stantibus which the Italian government could very well reject or consider superseded by changing the premises which form its basis. (Tr. note: rebus sic stantibus: a name given to a tacit

condition, said to attach to all treaties, that they shall cease to be obligatory so soon as the state of facts and conditions upon which they were founded has substantially changed.)

This theory, which has been proposed for some time now by the illustrious jurist, Prof. Menotti de Francesco, distinguished rector of the University of Milan, is fully shared by numerous parliamentarians conversant with international law. Recently, it was even accepted by Alto Adige members of the Social Democratic party.

In content, the document represents a unilateral statement by the Italian government which, without an explicit counter-declaration by Austria, says that it will assume certain responsibilities with respect to Austria and the linguistic minority, considered as a group and not as the sum of individual citizens.

The first of the three paragraphs that comprise the document provides for special concessions that Italy grants in free exercise of its sovereignty (i.e. schools in German, bilingualism, restoration of family names that may have been Italianized, measures to favor the access of non-natives to public office).

The second provides for the concession of autonomous legislative and executive power and even provides for consultation with German-speaking elements in these matters.

The third lists provisions of an international nature that the Italian government undertakes to perform after having consulted with the Austrian government (i.e. revisions of citizenship options, reciprocal recognition of some scholastic titles, facilitation of highway and railroad traffic between Innsbruck and Klagenfurt, facilitation of frontier crossings for persons and goods.)

Austria, on its part, assumes no obligation, formulates no statement, expresses no recognition. To find a statement concerning recognition and obligations, we have to look outside the official document to a statement made by minister Gruber on January 31, 1948 (see p. 155 of the Libro Bianco - White Book - published in 1958 by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers - Regional Office):

"I feel able to declare that any activity or attitude on the part of the inhabitants of Alto Adige that is not related to a sense of loyalty and that is, instead, directed toward a modification of the state of things in Alto Adige on which the Paris Agreement was founded, could gravely damage the friendship existing between the two countries and would have to be censured even by the Austrian government itself."

Has Italy lived up to the obligations she assumed in this document? As far as we are concerned, we do not hesitate to say that she has exceeded the obligations she assumed.

The safeguards afforded the German language group with respect to ethnic matters and matters of cultural and economic development have assumed today, through the actions of the Volkspartei, an appearance not of protective guardianship of one's own rights, but rather of an aggressive threat to the rights of others. German schools, with their separa-

tion of youngsters even during recreation periods, have caused a propaganda of hate that the Bishop of Bressanone himself, Monsignor Gargitter, could not help but explicitly condemn in the Eucharistic Congress of Bressanone in 1958. Through these schools, as will be documented later, many children whose native language is Italian are being systematically Germanized.

There has been no further discussion about the restoration of family names which may have been Italianized. Evidently, the non-natives have no complaints. There might be complaints, however, on the part of the Italians of Bolzano who are obliged to tolerate as their vice-mayor the Honorable Riz, whose name was recently Germanized. In fact, the Hon. Riz's grandfather was, a few decades ago, known by the very Italian name of Rizzi.

Even the third paragraph (i.e. revisions, citizenship options, facilitation of frontier traffic for persons and transportation means, facilitation of traffic on the Innsbruck-Klagenfurt line) is the object of controversy, neither in the German language press on this and on the other side of the Brenner, nor in the Austrian memorandum of 1956. The Volkspartei and the Austrian government, after all, know very well that it has been precisely on these questions that the Italian government has demonstrated an incredible and inexplicable pliancy.

Our government's spirit of justice and understanding in the revision of citizenship options has given the following results as of August 31, 1956:

201,305 who had exercised the option in favor of Germany have been reaccepted to Italian citizenship.

4,106 (664 of whom did not emigrate) who had exercised the option in favor of Germany were excluded for the moment from reacquiring Italian citizenship. Subsequently, the Italian government has allowed reconsideration in the cases of the 664 non-emigres, and as of March 31, 1958, 325 of the 513 cases examined had already been resolved in favor of the people concerned.

In this regard, a comparison between the conduct of the Italian and Austrian governments is indicative. Both of them had agreed to allow the people concerned to decide on their choice in an atmosphere of maximum liberty. Contrary to this agreement, the Austrian government adopted a decision in the first days of 1949 which said that those inhabitants of Alto Adige who had not availed themselves of the right to revise their choice in favor of Italy during the time stipulated would automatically lose equality with Austrian citizens, which up to that moment they had enjoyed (as of February 5, 1949, the deadline date for the submission of requests for the reacquisition of Italian citizenship.)

The Italian government demonstrated similar generosity in the question of the recognition of academic titles. The word "some" which was used in the text of the Agreement was eventually extended to include "all" such titles. In this way, Italy recognized even those academic titles that are intimately tied to the particular scholastic requirements

peculiar to individual countries, as for example, titles in law, philology and political science.

The other two points of the first paragraph (i.e. bilingualism and access to public office) as well as the second paragraph (i.e. provincial autonomy) are matters that are at the moment under discussion with the Austrian government. Even here, it is evident that Italy is certainly on the side of justice, because following the issuance of the Statue of Autonomy, she has lived up to the obligation to "allow the Alto Adige population an autonomous executive and legislative power, within limits to be fixed, and in consultation, moreover, with local representatives of the German-speaking population."

Even if today the Volkspartei has eliminated from its circle members like Guggenberg and Amonn, it was, in 1948, afforded legal representation, and in this capacity it declared in a letter to the Hon. Perassi (President of the Subcommission for Regional Statues):

"It is with genuine pleasure that we are able to establish that the De Gasperi-Gruber Agreement, arrived at in Paris in September of 1946, has already been translated to action as regards the basic problem of autonomy."

Far from being impeded, the access of non-natives to public offices is greatly favored through the process of reserving places for them in public contests, but these contests are consistently ignored, because German-speaking citizens find it more profitable to dedicate themselves to other activities.

In the application of the idea of bilingualism, it is maintained, finally, that the government has gone beyond the reasonable limits demanded by reciprocal respect of the two linguistic groups living together in Alto Adige. It is further maintained that it has not even stayed within the limits imposed by article 84 of the Statue of Autonomy which would have Italian as the "official language of the region." By letter of August 11, 1959 (issued by the Regional Office) there was appended permission for the writing used in public places and business establishments to be in one language only and, therefore, even in German only. The signs used in public places and in business establishments are erroneously considered to be of a private nature, while it is evident that since they are directed to the community, they are of a public and not a private character. We cannot understand why a system that was acceptable to everyone should have been suddenly substituted by another that, given the spirit with which the Volkspartei is animated at the moment, will irrevocably be a source of discussion and controversy. The result will be grave economic damage to the interests of Italian-speaking merchants and of Italians in general who see themselves being confronted with the necessity of knowing German. On the other hand, Italian authorities have never aspired to having non-natives use the language of the country of which they are, indeed, citizens.

In conclusion, the principle of bilingualism is not only respected in Alto Adige, but is about to give way to German monolingualism.

C. The Volkspartei's Plan of Action against Italy

The first session of the regional and provincial little parliament (1948-1952) went ahead quite tranquilly, because the Volkspartei was still represented by men who were relatively more moderate and who had already declared themselves satisfied with what they had received. But with the 1952 elections, other more adamant and fanatical elements were already emerging that immediately began the struggle and agitation for the extension of autonomy.

The fourteen areas of authority recognized by the Statue of the Autonomous Province seemed insufficient to them and so, through more frequent and extensive use of the power of delegation provided for in article fourteen of the Statue of Autonomy, they tried to add to their fourteen areas of authority, the other seventeen assigned to the Region. But this was avoided at the time, because the aldermanship of the retiring Dietl was kept available for the German linguistic group. The maneuver was unsuccessful.

Tenacious and immovable in its plans, the Volkspartei carefully prepared a new attempt on a psychological and propagandistic level (c.f. the Castelfirmiano meeting) as well as on the level of internal and foreign political alliances (c.f. the celebrations in honor of Hofer, prepared and executed both in Northern Tyrol and in Alto Adige) and on the level of the Regional Institute (c.f. the resignation of German speaking councillors from the Regional Committee and a presentation to the Italian Parliament of a proposed law for the creation of the autonomous province of Bolzano.)

The plan was no doubt intelligently conceived both as regards the means for carrying it out and the provisions made for its gradual evolution.

Every possible pretext was found to begin agitating the population, arriving at the absurd extreme of staging a huge anti-government protest demonstration in front of the Government Police Department building in Bolzano, because the Italian government had announced the allocation of more than two billion lire for building reconstruction and development.

While the population of Bolzano was crowded together under incredible and inhuman living conditions in cellars, garrets, huts and caves, the Volkspartei was protesting because the government was promising assistance in the construction of houses!

It was without a doubt a pretext, the first one that events offered the Volkspartei, which launched the demonstration under the motto "Los Von Trient!" (Separation from Trento!). The Volkspartei was by now committed to a plan of action agreed upon with Austria where a central agitating agency called Berg-Isel-Bund had already been officially created and which is now the undersecretariate for Southern Tyrol under the responsibility of Professor Gschnitzer, the president of the irredentist organization.

The demonstration was allowed. Only its location was changed. From the square in front of the Government Building it was transferred

to Castelfirmiano. In view of the clearly anti-government tenor of a demonstration which was provocative and offensive to citizens of other Alto Adige language groups, no other government would have allowed it to go on without taking adequate measures with respect to those responsible.

Under the eyes of the forces of law and order, there was distributed a violent anti-Italian leaflet which said, among other things, "We do not want to be the slaves of a people who by means of treachery and deceit have occupied our land and have been enforcing for over a period of 40 years a system of plunder worse than the colonial methods used at one time in Africa."

Naturally no action was taken against the leaders of the Volks-partei. The cause of action against "unknown persons" presented by the Bolzano police superintendent was filed away.

In the meantime, Austria had reacquired its sovereignty in 1955. At the moment of the signing of the Government Treaty in June, 1955, the directors of the Volkspartei immediately went to Vienna to try to pose again the problem of the territorial ownership of Alto Adige. In this case, they violated a specific article of the Italian penal code, but although a complaint was issued against them, they were not punished, and they emerged from the episode more self-assured and arrogant than ever.

The year after, in 1956, the Italian government requested a written declaration from Austria of its complaint with respect to an alleged lack of adherence to the De Gasperi-Gruber Agreement. The Austrian Government answered, complaining of the restricted limits of provincial autonomy, as well as of the question of bilingualism and admission to public offices.

Diplomatic discussions have been underway on these questions for three years. An attempt was made to influence them with the demonstrations in honor of Andrea Hofer. On the occasion of these demonstrations, Austrian public figures noted for their Italophobia entered Italy without intervention on the part of the Italian government, incited Italian citizens to fight against their government and promised assistance to the Volkspartei.

Demonstrations of this kind took place at:

1. Valdaora with Gschnitzer in attendance
2. Silandro with Gschnitzer in attendance and with a speech by him
3. Bressanone with Gschnitzer in attendance

The cycle came to an end on the thirteenth of last September with the demonstration at Innsbruck in which several thousand Alto Adige inhabitants participated, drawn up in quasi-military formations (c.f. the Schutzen companies). As a symbol of the suffering of the Southern Tyrolese, a gigantic crown of thorns weighing about 450 pounds (2 quintals) and costing more than 2 million lire was brought to the procession. (The crown was manufactured at Innsbruck, however, in the factories of the well-known exponent of Beeg-Isel-Bund, Dr. Oberhammer).

It is said, however, that the crown was deplored both by Austrian religious authorities and by several other Alto Adige public figures who were present and considered the symbol exaggerated and sacrilegious.

All of this is the result of the work of undersecretary Gschnitzer who has arranged, coordinated and guided the operation to a precise and definite end. The others have nothing to do but to follow him to the finish.

With respect to Professor Gschnitzer, an increasing number of people feel it advisable for the Italian government to express its condemnation of an individual of his kind, who has demonstrated such bad faith and hatred toward Italy, by refusing to deal with him.

All of these events were, after all, predictable and were indeed predicted by many people when Austria established the undersecretariate for Southern Tyrol precisely at the moment when the Italian government, ceding to the pressures of the Volkspartei, did away with the office of boundary zones (L'ufficio zone di confine).

It was a grave error which was to put the Italian government in the position of not being able to react in a timely way to the lies and the underhanded actions of the Austrian undersecretariate. These lies and actions have led to the present situation.

As regards the Tinzl legislative project, already presented to the senate for a modification of articles 116 and 131 of the constitution, and for the creation of a South Tyrol region with headquarters at Bozen (no longer Bolzano), it is worth remembering that it is dedicated to an attempt to extend the areas of provincial jurisdiction to the maximum, from 14 in number to 32. It is also an attempt to exclude Italian-speaking citizens from every public and private activity, in such a way that the Italian-speaking citizen of the constituent region of South Tyrol would undoubtedly be subject to a more restrictive treatment than that guaranteed to foreign citizens. If this should come to pass, it would then be a brief step to separating the province of Bolzano from Italy.

D. Austrian Support for Anti-Italian Action

Austria's conduct in the post-war period has gone through the following stages of development:

1. Until Austria reacquired her independence, she was officially very cautious in her relations with Italy and, as will be seen, she didn't even spare open and reassuring commitments.

2. After Austria reacquired her independence and was assured of neutrality through an agreement signed with Russia, she made the question the order of the day without, however, immediately transforming it into a dramatic issue.

3. Since June, 1956, that is, since the time the Tyrolese Professor Gschnitzer entered the Austrian government as undersecretary for foreign affairs, but more precisely as undersecretary for South Tyrol, we have witnessed Austria's entry into a stage in which the Alto Adige issue has been dramatized, or in which it has given outright cause to

Gschnitzer did not change his point of view, and the situation became worse, for while previously his pretensions were not of an official nature, today, thanks to the position which he has attained, they appear an outright violation of the responsibilities undertaken by Austria with the Agreement of Paris, which in succeeding periods have been confirmed by new agreements between the two countries. It was not happenstance that Gschnitzer was present in Vienna on the third of February, 1959 when Silvius Magnano and others were received by Chancellor Raab. But this meeting had been preceded by other episodes that were no less grave. The most disagreeable one (one of those few cases in which Italy timidly allowed itself to request explanations from Vienna) happened in January of 1957. Italy was about to deliver a reply to the Austrian memorandum of October 1956, when at Innsbruck on January 25, 1957, Professor Gschnitzer delivered a frantic anti-Italian speech. In order to save face, even the very patient government of Rome was obliged to ask Vienna for an explanation, but the Austrian government answered in the puzzling tone that it "intended to abide by the agreements," and the government in Rome abstained from over-insistence and hastened to declare itself satisfied.

Professor Gschnitzer's opinions on which Vienna did not feel it advisable to pass judgment were, among others, the following: "The voice of the people has declared the separation of South Tyrol to be an unimaginable iniquity that was not even rectified in 1945...to rectify a wrong, to concede autonomy would be the ideal solution... Since in 1945, the moment which would have been propitious for the redress of wrongs, such was not possible, would it then have been advisable to reject what could have been, indeed, obtained, that is, the Agreements of Paris? Who would have taken such a responsibility? The agreements improved the legal status of the Tyrolese, but they relinquished nothing... How can the question of South Tyrol be resolved? Can there be any solution other than that of the popular request for unity? How can there be a solution that leaves the injustice committed in 1918 in operation? The Southern Tyrolese have to be recognized as an ethnic group. They should not, in order to justify annexation, be made to pass as Italians who merely speak another language or another dialect. They are not German-speaking Italians. They are Germans with Italian citizenship. Italy cannot continue the fiction of a national state after having exceeded its ethnic confines. Evidently the concept of the Paris Agreement was that national limits were presumably located at the Brenner frontier, while ethnic limits remained at Salorno."

These excerpts from Professor Gschnitzer's speech seem to us to be much more eloquent than any description could be to illustrate the purposes that the Undersecretary of Tyrolean affairs and his Berg-Isel-Bund follow. These aims are not concerned with the guardianship of German-speaking inhabitants of Alto Adige but with the annexation of Alto Adige to Austria.

The Berg-Isel-Bund is a pseudo-cultural league that gets its name

from the Tyrolean Monte Sacro, Berg-Isel, in the Inn Valley, where in 1809 Tyrolean peasants under the leadership of Andrea Hofer defeated French troops and their Bavarian allies in three battles. Immediately after the 1956 Austrian elections and the subsequent appointment of Professor Gschnitzer to the undersecretariate, this league founded a landesgruppe for Vienna and lower Austria under the direction of Professor Franz Gschnitzer. The declared aim of this association is to "be concerned, as a matter of prime consideration, with the cultural aspirations of the Southern Tyrolese. Moreover, it is to consider as its mission on the clarification for Austrian public opinion of the status, the difficulties and the unhappiness of the Southern Tyrolese ethnic group." The Berg-Isel-Bund publishes a magazine every three months under the title of Sudtiroi in Wort und Bild which on the first page carries a news section concerning life in the province of Bolzano (Es Geschat in Sudtiroi). All the news events are presented from the Innsbruck point of view in such a way that every happening and pretext is used as means of offending Italy. How, then, does Austria respect the Paris Agreement? Professor Gschnitzer's speeches and the activities of Berg-Isel-Bund sufficiently demonstrate that Austria cannot, in good faith, accuse Italy of "betraying the spirit" of the agreements, because she herself has betrayed it and continues to betray it by giving "official" support to acts that dangerously compromise Italian sovereignty in Alto Adige; and it is not merely a matter of newspaper articles or cultural activities.

On September 28, 1958, Civis wrote an article in the daily Alto Adige revealing Austrian initiatives in violation of the Treaty of Paris, "Professor Gschnitzer himself, the Austrian government's secretary for foreign affairs, has not hesitated to organize, to preside over and to attend public demonstrations in and out of Austria in which he himself has delivered speeches invoking autonomy for Alto Adige and inciting anti-Italian sentiments."

On its part, the Austrian government did not delay in assuming full co-responsibility for the attitudes voiced by undersecretary Gschnitzer.

On July 4, 1956, the Austrian federal chancellor made a statement in Parliament in which it turned out that Austria "continued to adhere to the Agreement of Paris," but he was of the opinion that "the agreement had not been put into effect in all its particulars." He maintained that it was necessary to request "through all the means furnished by international law, the execution of all international agreements that have been agreed upon and that have been put into effect and that therefore, this idea also applies in the execution of the agreement under discussion. All this does not imply a lessening of the sovereignty of the other government involved."

The Italian government, faced with such a nebulous and insidious declaration, one which upset all precedents on the issue, proved again that it was more than conciliatory. It took the initiative of inviting

the Austrian government to state its point of view on the question in a more precise and concrete way. The Austrian government immediately took the rebound and sent a memo to Italy dated October 8, 1956 in which it adopted as its own the thesis upheld by the most ardent exponents of the Volkspartei in Alto Adige.

The Italian government answered with a memo of its own dated January 30, 1957. In a statement made prior to the issuance of the memo, the Italian government expressed itself in precise terms as follows: "There is no doubt that all the principles and arrangements of the Agreement of Paris to which the Austrian memo refers have been translated into norms of action through the Trentino-Alto Adige Statute. These norms, as is known, were established after consulting even those local elements that represented the German speaking population."

In concluding the memorandum, the Italian government affirmed that "an exchange of points of view on the matter cannot be conducted except through normal diplomatic channels which are the only fit means of doing so, without taking into consideration for the moment, the necessity of creating a special commission of experts to resolve questions of detail in respect to the application of the Agreement of Paris."

The Austrian government has, in fact, from that time up to recent days accepted the stand of the Italian government. Indeed, an exchange of points of view on "questions of detail" have periodically taken place in Vienna between the Italian embassy and competent Austrian agencies, that is, through normal diplomatic channels.

Suddenly, without declaring that such a system was no longer valid, without having previously interrupted the discussions that were going on through normal diplomatic channels and without in any way justifying an action of the sort, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs has brought the question before the UN in a manner familiar to everyone by now, that is, by threatening a formal complaint against Italy should the "dramatic" situation in Alto Adige not be resolved in accordance with the desires of the Innsbruck chauvinists.

Up to this date, such has been post-war Austrian policy toward Italy with respect to Alto Adige.

A brief postscript is not irrelevant. There are facts that bear on the way that Austria treats ethnic minorities in its own territory, or to be more exact, the Slovenian minority in Carinthia.

The daily Oesterreichische Neue Tageszeitung, the official organ of Austrian chancellor Raab, has written: "The regional government of Carinthia has delivered to the Ministry of Public Education a request expressing a desire to adopt a temporary solution in the Carinthian scholastic question until such time as a proper national law is issued." The law concerning minorities has lain dormant for more than two years in the files of the Austrian parliament and a proposal for a provisional solution which would provide a "palliative" while awaiting the provisions called for by law cannot obtain the support of the Volkspartei and therefore cannot obtain the support of the government.

(This is the same Volkspartei that fights so gallantly to defend the rights of the poor minority oppressed by Italy.) And this is not the complete picture. On September 11, 1958, the Vienna independent daily Die Presse forthrightly stated that, "The Slovenes of Carinthia do not have the right to call themselves an ethnic minority. They are merely Austrian citizens of different national background." This too is the opinion in government circles in Vienna which recently have adopted an aggressive policy with respect to the Slavic minority.

Vienna has even proposed to abolish a series of schools which teach in the Slovak language under the pretext that a majority of the inhabitants in the above-mentioned localities are not of the Slovak ethnic group. Similarly, Italy could submit a proposal to close the German language schools in Bolzano citing as justification the fact that the city is inhabited by a majority of Italians.

PART TWO: THE SITUATION IN ALTO ADIGE

I. Citizenship Options and the Ethnic Ratio

In this matter, above all others, the action of the Volkspartei has shown itself to be constant, systematic and progressive.

Those who had renounced Italian citizenship spontaneously and of their own free will had no right to receive it a second time, nor did the victorious allies suggest or impose anything of the kind on Italy.

It was during a time in which other German minorities were being expelled everywhere, owing to the sad experiences that had been suffered by Germany's neighboring countries.

Italy had no need to take any initiative in this matter. It would have been sufficient to leave those who had made their citizenship choices where they were, and not to restore something that had been disdainfully renounced. De Gasperi, instead, wanted to be generous, and he agreed to take them back in, probably convinced that the lesson they had received had given results.

And so, just as they had expressed a desire to return to Germany, almost all of the people involved, requested a return to Italian jurisdiction and a reacquisition of Italian citizenship. However, it was decreed that those who, during the period of choice and the period following, had demonstrated "fanaticism or anti-Italian hatreds should be excluded."

At a later date, however, even these people, together with leaders of the Nazi period, reobtained Italian citizenship, and it is precisely these people who today are guiding the actions of the Volkspartei. Not only did they re-enter, but they took up their positions of responsibility, while the great mass of those who had revised their options were assured assistance which even refugees from Africa and Eastern countries did not receive. They received loans from the provincial government, loans without interest with extremely convenient rates of payment, notwithstanding which, they were then in great measure released

from paying the remainder of the loans.

Quite soon, with typical Teutonic arrogance, they changed from extremely humble supplicants onto carping pretenders after every right, and they became the most ferocious and pitiless accusers of the government that had welcomed them.

It is a bitter necessity to have to remark that those who received the most benefits were precisely the ones who had been allowed a second choice, while those who had originally chosen Italy were forgotten and had to go to Canossa and beat their breasts for having had faith in Italy.

Once the German language had been restored to its former position, and after the arrival of emigrants who had previously renounced Italian citizenship and the restitution of Italian citizenship to non-emigres, the Volkspartei turned all its efforts towards making life for the Italians difficult in an effort to make them leave Alto Adige. Obtaining and keeping residence in Alto Adige was made wilfully and particularly difficult through actions of intimidation and boycott that no other European government would have allowed to a segment of its population.

But all of this was not considered sufficient, and so the concept of ethnic ratio was devised, a concept which represents a denial of every consideration based on merit and need.

This principle senselessly annuls the equality of citizens established by article three of the Italian Constitution, by which, "all citizens are equal before the law regardless of sex, race, creed etc. etc." Apart from any demonstrable or established need, this principle construes the spoken language to mean that for every benefit given to one Italian speaking citizen, an equivalent benefit must be given to two German speaking citizens, without taking into consideration any question of merit or need. Naturally, all of this pertains only to requests made to the government. In other matters the ethnic ratio is of no importance.

If to German speaking secondary scholars, who represent 36% of the scholastic population, 71% of the scholarships are given, such action is justified, because the concept of ethnic ratio is invoked whenever there are no other means of attaining a desired end.

II. Bilingualism

In accordance with article 6 of the Constitution, which establishes special provisions for the protection of minorities, the use of the German language had been admitted under a system that, in the beginning, appeared to satisfy the demands of the German-speaking minority. According to articles 84, 85 and 86 of the special statute for Trentino-Alto Adige, the bilingual system is established in the following terms:

1. The official language is Italian.
2. Both languages are used together for public communications.

3. The German-speaking citizen has the right to use German oral and written communications with the public administration and also to carry out transactions in German.

The rights of individuals were thus safeguarded in accordance with the provisions of the De Gasperi-Gruber agreement, which in its first paragraph guaranteed, "to the citizens the use of German on a basis of equality with Italian." At the same time, the rights of the government within whose boundaries the minority lives and works were kept in account.

But for the past two years the Volkspartei has been pushing to break the limits established by the law, and it continually insists on finding a way of passing from Italian-German bilingualism to German monolingualism. While the Volkspartei insists that all employees and officials of government administrative agencies in Alto Adige know German, it seeks to avoid recognizing a duty on the part of the German speaking employees to learn Italian. (These German employees, however, know Italian quite well and today, with conditions as they are, the issue is one of pure pettiness.)

Unfortunately, as regards written matter in public places and places of business, the Volkspartei has already achieved an important victory. In fact, the regional office has established, as of 11 August, a modification of previous regulations so that written matter can be composed even in German alone. It is thus foreseeable that in Alto Adige, and especially in the province, written matter which up to now has had to be in Italian will give way to written matter in German alone, even in public places and places of business run by Italians.

III. Schools and Culture

In 1945, even before the De Gasperi-Gruber agreement, the office of the supervisor of schools in Bolzano had provided for the creation of German primary schools. The idea was to allow students in their first three years of school to study educational norms set up by ministerial programs in their native language. The last two elementary classes, on the other hand, were supposed to follow a program which would allow students of both groups to associate and study together, but all of this was nothing more than a pious hope.

The German primary schools immediately became independent, and quite soon kindergartens and secondary schools followed suit in a similar manner.

In a consistent series of steps, the German schools have gone through the following evolution:

1. First, German language schools following the usual ministerial programs.
2. Then, German schools with revised and corrected programs to conform to a respect for the feelings of the German group.
3. Finally, German language schools with foreign texts, with a liberty of programming and with a clearly anti-Italian orientation.

These schools have never been inspected by Italian authorities. Recently, instead, they have received a visit from the Austrian minister of education.

A lack of German kindergarten sections was a cause of complaint, but quite soon German kindergartens under provincial supervision were established even in those cities where there existed kindergartens with both sections. What was wanted next was no longer German language instruction but a separation of the youngsters even during recreation periods.

A limited example is that of Salorno, a city of a large Italian majority where there is a kindergarten with a German and Italian section directed by nuns. The kindergarten is well equipped and answers all the demands of modern pedagogy. In 1958, a second kindergarten was constructed and organized by the province at Salorno. At first, it had a German section, and later an Italian one too. It is indicative that the German section of the German kindergarten is attended even by children of entirely Italian families who have let themselves induced by various promises to send their children there. It is incredible but true! From all of this the evident result is that in Alto Adige today not only is no attempt made to Italianize a single German, but many are the cases in which we find Italian students in German schools.

The Germans hold the agricultural and commercial economy of the province in their hands, and this gives them ample possibilities, especially in small centers, to induce Italians of inferior social categories to renounce that defense of their own ethnic characteristics of which the Volkspartei declares itself to be such a jealous custodian - for itself only, however.

At Vadena, a small center in the right of the Adige to the South of Bolzano, there is a German class attended entirely by students of the Italian language group. At Brennero, an almost exclusively Italian center, a German class was created last year attended by 7 students (while legally the minimum number for the creation of a class is 8) of which only one has up to now attended a German school. The other 7 are children of Italian-speaking families, and their parents agreed to sign the request for the class under pressure from a ferociously anti-Italian railroad official.

The recognition of all Austrian scholastic titles has resulted in the necessity of favoring the flow of secondary school graduates to Austrian universities through the granting of scholarships which the province of Bolzano (in the hands of the Volkspartei) generously extends without even trying to keep up appearances. There is, in fact, no commission whose job it is to scrutinize the requests, nor is there any possibility of appeal against the decisions that are frequently handed down. At any rate, to give an idea of the distribution of scholarships for secondary schools, it will be enough to say that for the 1958 awards, we have the following figures:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Italians</u>	<u>Germans</u>
Secondary School Enrollment	7,052	4,022
Percentage of Students	64%	36%
Scholarships awarded	240	580
Scholarship value in lire	8,090,000	25,520,000
Percentage of Scholarships	30%	70%
Percentage of Scholarship Value	24%	76%

This is the situation now, when schools have not as yet been provincialized! Let us try to imagine what will happen in the future when standards of action in this field will be issued by authority that the Statute of Autonomy grants to the cognizance of the province.

Theoretically, a supervisor of schools still exists in the Province of Bolzano, but his appointment is subject to the consent of the Provincial Committee in the hands of the Volkspartei which has made it expressly understood many times that his visits (let alone his inspections) are not welcome in German schools.

There is no doubt that a ministerial inspection in this field would lead to a discovery of truly unimagined situations. For in Alto Adige German schools, auxiliary teachers are still numerous. These instructors, who are without the necessary scholastic credentials, are ex-photographers, ex-cooks and ex-waiters authorized by the Italian government to teach on a basis of equality with qualified teachers.

In these schools, history and geography are taught more or less in the following way:

What is Alto Adige?

A part of the Tyrol.

To whom does it belong?

Today it belongs to Italy, but soon it will return to Austria.

It may sound like a joke, but it is, instead, something that has actually happened. It is truly incredible what falls under the category of "culture" in the seat of the provincial government in Alto Adige.

All of the things that feed grist to the Volkspartei's mill, that is anti-Italian books, demonstrations in honor of Hofer, folk costumes for the bands and for the companies of Schutzen, are largely subsidized by the provincial Committee, frequently through fictitious offices or agencies that are directed by a restricted circle of persons who are, for the most part, employees and officials of the provincial administration.

Thus the demonstrations in honor of Hofer which allowed Gschnitzer to come to Italy, as was described above, were financed with 120 million lire of provincial administration money. It is not possible for councillors and aldermen of other linguistic groups to oppose the manner in which funds are apportioned, because owing to the approval given by the Fanfani government to the law concerning cultural councils

(approved with text unchanged after it had been rejected twice) cultural funds are divided according to the ethnic ratio, and moreover, every group has a council which can apportion funds as it sees fit.

It must be remarked, finally, that the law concerning cultural councils, in addition to establishing the regulations for the distribution of funds, also recognizes the right of each language group to be active in its own cultural sphere. What this means can clearly be understood from that section of the much-discussed Tinzl project which would assign exclusive legislative authority to provincial autonomy and therefore executive function "over radio and TV stations."

The quasi-military Schutzen organizations, the establishment and use of firing ranges that little by little are cropping up in all Alto Adige centers, the costumes, all of this is considered "culture" and is entirely financed by the province.

Naturally, attempts are made to keep the Italians far away from even the most innocent of these activities and associations. Little by little, the Italians are abandoning municipal bands and fire departments, because they have become aware that these institutions are slowly becoming anti-Italian political organizations.

Thus with money furnished by Italian contributors, Italian industry and Italian labor, the Volkspartei is preparing the means for action in Alto Adige!

IV. Press and Propaganda

It can be said without fear of error that no Italian political party, speaking not only in a relative sense but even in an absolute one, has at its disposal the tools for a daily and periodical press that are in the hands of the German ethnic group, that is to say, in the hands of the Volkspartei. The following table is more eloquent in content than any argument. It should be noted that all the publications cited below are German language publications in the Province of Bolzano, and in one way or another, they reflect the propaganda and cultural interests of the German language group and of the political party that declares itself to be its interpreter.

Daily and Periodical Press

Through the party that represents it, and through cultural and press organs created for the purpose, the German language group plays a role of exceptional scope even in the fields of information and propaganda, which is devoted both to the safeguarding of its own rights and political interests and to the preservation and advancement of the Germanic character of its language and culture.

For these of its activities, the group has at its disposal the following noteworthy periodical publications; all, obviously, in German:
Dailies

Dolmiten Bolzano

Weeklies

Volksbote Bolzano

(see page 43 of original)

Fortnightlies

Pfarblatt-Bozen Bolzano
(see page 43 of original)

Monthlies

Der Schlern Bolzano
(see page 44 of original)

Occasional Periodicals

Seminar Stimmen Bressanone
(see page 44 of original)

Numerical Resume

Dailies	1
Weeklies	5
Fortnightlies	6
Monthlies	10
Occasional Periodicals	5
Total	27

It is now worthwhile considering how the Volkspartei takes advantage of the instruments of propaganda that Italian tolerance and generosity have put at its disposal.

The German daily and periodical press is entirely controlled and directed by irredentist circles. In fact, Dolomiten, the only daily published in German has its editorial staff entrusted to one of the most extreme of the irredentists, a man who is animated by feelings of a true Italophobia. His name is Dr. Friedl Volgger, a deputy to the Italian parliament and Vice-president of the Sudtiroi Volkspartei (South Tyrol People's Party). He is surrounded by a selected writing group and assisted in the most urgent political matters by a certain Dr. Franz Hieronymous Riedl, an Austrian citizen, an ex-Nazi of high position and cultural attache to several embassies of the so-called Third Reich (Budapest, Bucharest.) He was entrusted with the task of strengthening the position of German ethnic minorities in the Balkans and in Southeast Europe and of promoting the establishment of new German ethnic nuclei. He was sought by the allies during the immediate post war period, and he took refuge in Alto Adige under false identification together with his wife, who was also being looked for. While there, he worked at first for the Merano weekly Der Standpunkt and later, with the normalization of conditions, he went on to the editorial staff of the Dolomiten.

The Dolomiten has a circulation of 17 thousand in its Monday to Friday editions and of 23 thousand copies of double format in its Saturday edition. It is calculated that every individual copy is read by an average of 4 people belonging to the same family circle, and without taking into account the copies read in public places, the influence that such a daily exerts by itself embraces an average of 90 to 92 thousand readers.

In addition to the Dolomiten the weekly Der Volksbote (The Peo-

ple's Courier) is published. It is the official organ of the South Tyrol Volkspartei and is written by the same elements that form the above-mentioned daily. The responsible director signs himself as a certain Dr. Vinzenz Oberhollenzer, a teacher and protege of Volgger.

The circulation of Volksbote is 12 to 13 thousand copies read largely in certain rural areas by an average of 5 readers a copy. The influence that such a periodical exerts embraces, therefore, about 60,000 readers.

Through the publications mentioned above, irredentist circles exercise a power of influence that embraces a total of more than 150 thousand readers, that is to say, about 70% of the German language group, or rather, all of the working population and part of the youth that has not, as yet, participated in working life.

The other German language publications are not of a political-informative nature but of a cultural, economic, professional and, above all, religious nature. With the exception of the periodical Sonntagsblatt (Sunday Bulletin) of the Bressanone Curia, these are publications of a reduced circulation and of little importance. The only publication of a politico-religious character, Der Weg (The Path), of the German language Catholic Action had to cease publication following the transfer of its director, a certain Father Leopold de Gumpenberg. This action followed a group appeal by local irredentist circles here and on the other side of the Brenner to the Father General of the order of Capuchins, who has United States nationality but belongs to a Viennese order. This appeal was lodged with the support of the Austrian ambassador to the Holy See, Baron de Kripp, originally of Alto Adige, who owns property in Merano.

Absolute Monopoly

The political press, that is, the daily Dolomiten and the weekly Der Volksbote is therefore completely in the hands of irredentist circles and with it, the principle means for the formation of public opinion. Among the Latin-Romansh speaking population, this means that with respect to the press as such, irredentist circles hold an absolute monopoly. To their power of forming, influencing and orienting public opinion must be added, above all, the German-Austrian press, also widely diffused in Alto Adige in illustrated weeklies and magazines. This press takes part in the irredentist campaign by favoring now one and then another blackmailing and agitating claim, and because of the moral authority that it unfortunately enjoys among the German speaking population, it confers greater credit for truthfulness to the continual flow of anti-Italian lies which the German language Alto Adige press emits. To all of this can be added the supporting participation of radio and TV stations of German-Austrian networks which, to speak truthfully, has not as yet exerted as powerful an influence as the press. In this regard, it is enough to remember the various cases of radio and TV broadcasts of German and Austrian origin dedicated to a partial and prejudiced

discussion of the situation in Alto Adige.

V. Industry and Commerce

The greatest complaints of the gentlemen of the Volkspartei, supported by the Austrian government, have for years been concerned with the Alto Adige commercial situation in general and the industrial one in particular. They say that these elements are the instrument for the oppression of the German language community. Such a point of falsification has been reached, that some days ago, the ponderous English Times, which shouldn't lack reliable sources of information, wrote that the citizens of Alto Adige are divided into the rich and the poor, that the rich are the Italians that live on industry while the poor are the Germans who live only on agriculture. The official figures that we are going to publish here are irrefutable, have, indeed, never been refuted and will help to re-establish the truth. The supposed "Italian exploiters" have left 95% of the agriculture, 70% of the craftsman industries, 80% of the commerce and 96% of the tourist trade in the hands of non-natives. The only sector left to the Italians has been that of industry, which is 70% Italian and 30% Tyrolean. In this sector, the Italians provide 85% of the labor and non-natives 15%. Italian and Tyrolean industrialists cooperate in an atmosphere of reciprocal trust and understanding. The Tyroleans are all enrolled in the National Confederation of Manufacturers (Confindustria) and they maintain a very proper attitude toward it. Italian and German workers live together peacefully. The Tyrol does not have an industrial tradition. The available labor is absorbed almost completely by agriculture and by the hotel trade.

In 1955, the per capita income in Alto Adige was about 283,000 lire, occupying thirteenth position on the national scale. The unemployment index was 1.25% and in the same year, it was in last position on the relative national scale. The amount of bank and postal deposits and investments was, as of December 31, 1956, respectively 56 billion in deposits and 27 billion in investments. Investments of Italian capital in Alto Adige amount to several tens of billions and it is evident that it has had, and continues to have an influence on every level of the population, which has witnessed a transformation in its patriarchal and economically almost medieval way of life. Today the economic situation of Alto Adige is good when compared with other more advanced European countries and excellent in comparison to that of other regions of Italy.

The presence of the "industrial zone" of Bolzano has given the SVP (South Tyrol People's Party) the premises and the arguments for the battle it has been waging against a supposed "wilfull and premeditated genocide on Italy's part" at the expense of the Alto Adige ethnic minority. This is a grave accusation that completely lacks any basis. It is true that this "zone" was created by Fascism with the intention of attracting Italians to Alto Adige and of transforming the

economy and the social system of the province, which up to that time had been almost medieval. It is likewise true that in the last few years there has been not only a complete stop in the flow of permanent labor to Alto Adige but also a permanent stop in the flow of seasonal labor. Therefore, the fears of the SVP are altogether unjustified. It is also true that since 1953 up to the present, these industries have been left completely to their own devices, and that therefore, if they did not have sufficient economic means to justify their existence in loco, not only would it have been impossible for them to prosper as they have, but they could not have even survived. The "industrial zone" of Bolzano represents the fulcrum of the economic system of the province. We learn from the official bulletin of the Bolzano Chamber of Commerce (January 1958), that in this zone there are 37 business concerns that provide employment for about 7000 people. Therefore, it can be calculated that about 25,000 or more people gain their livelihood from the work of these establishments. The total value of industrial production amounts to about 50 billion. Of this amount, it can be calculated that about 9/10 is recirculated within the limits of the province, and for the most part in the city of Bolzano. The production of electric power alone in the province of Bolzano exceeds 3 1/2 billion KW hours.

An analysis of the makeup of the provincial balance makes it easy to ascertain that most of the income derives directly or indirectly from Italian industrial initiative, while most of the expenditures are made to the exclusive advantage of another ethnic group, especially that of the farmers. In 1956, the regular income of the province of Bolzano, estimated at over 2 billion in taxes, broke down as follows: 64 million from land surtaxes on agriculture; a little more than 8 million from surtaxes on farm incomes; 75 million from surtaxes on building and another 137 million from surtaxes on industries and commerce. It is necessary to bear in mind that incomes "shared" with the province from revenues produced by national industries and their affiliates amount to more than a billion and a half a year.

Most of the provincial sources of income are derived from the 9/10 of the "federal" tax yield, which in accordance with the provisions of article 68 of the Statute of Autonomy are turned over to the province by the government. This tax yield breaks down in the following way: 4 million from farm incomes; 30 million from construction; 1 billion 230 million from commercial and industrial activities. If we add to this quantity the amount received from the ICAP, we get a total of 1,372,000,000 lire in all, compared with incomes received from the agricultural sector which amount to 88,000,000. Therefore the total returns from the industrial and commercial sectors of the economy are 16 times greater than those of the agricultural sector, and if the statement is limited to federal tax yield sharing alone, it is noted that the industrial sector provides 77 times more than agriculture. Furthermore, the remaining provincial incomes, such as the sharing of tax money received in the amount of 72 million, 3/5 of the ECA (Economic Cooperation Administration)

contribution amounting to 110 million and the 177 million in regional contributions in various taxes, are derived in large measure either directly or indirectly from Italian industrial initiative. These figures make it very evident that the position of agriculture with its contribution of 4% to provincial income is a privileged one. This 4% figure appears even more paltry when it is considered that the "net product" derived from forests, orchards and vineyards amounts to more than 17 billion annually, according to official statistics! Therefore, it is clear that the Italian population in Alto Adige, in particular those Italians who as entrepreneurs, technicians and workers give life to Alto Adige industrial activity, contribute to the common good in a positive way, and instead of being accused by the representatives of German-speaking citizens, they should be thanked by them.

It is above all clear with respect to the industrial situation in Alto Adige that the Italian community cannot be accused of having little faith in a feeling for a European community, if we consider that those who lodge the accusation are still bound to the concept of "territorial reserve" which today is all the more anachronistic when we have entered the age of the common market and when for a period of years now the iron-coal community has been in full development. As was explained in Bolzano some time ago by a high official of the CECA, what this means is that in questions involving a high super-national authority nothing (and nobody) can stand in the way of the creation of industries where it is felt to be economically most convenient, and that labor itself, be it Italian, French or German must be granted a permit of free travel so that it can be employed wherever most needed.

As regards commerce, it's enough to remember that on May 12, 1950, an agreement was reached between the Italian and Austrian governments in Rome for the regulation of the exchange of goods between the Trentino-Alto Adige area and the Bundeslaender-Tirol and Vorarlberg.

In brief, the system of "facilitated exchanges" between the two zones hinges upon the following elements:

a. Lists of goods and typical products, as well as pertinent quotas, the exchange of which is authorized directly by competent Italian and Austrian offices; regulation of payments is effected through a special transaction expressed in dollars between the Trento branch of the Bank of Italy and the Innsbruck branch of the Austrian National Bank.

b. The lists and related quotas are periodically reviewed and brought up to date by a specially created mixed commission provided for in the agreement. This commission occupies itself with all other questions that may arise in the matter too.

c. The lists of goods imported and exported in both directions are divided into two categories: goods in the first category enjoy the general facilitations provided by the Agreement and are exempt from possible taxes or export levies. Goods in the second category are exempt from taxes and from import duties also.

d. With the progressive liberalization of international exchanges, the major emphasis of the Agreement has fallen on products and goods admitted to importation in both directions with exemptions from customs duties. Related quotas that were established in this regard in the first lists that were appended to the agreement set the total figure of 85 million lire for imports into Trentino-Alto Adige from Tirolo-Voralberg and another 85 million for imports into Tirolo-Voralberg from Trentino-Alto Adige. The above-mentioned mixed commission has increased these figures slowly until the level of 400 million a year has been reached for goods travelling in both directions.

Against the form and execution of this agreement, neither the Volkspartei nor the Austrian government has up to now raised the slightest protest or request for integration, which means, no doubt, that the interests of the German language community and of Austria have been completely protected.

VI. Agriculture

Up to now, agriculture has been under the protection of the province of Bolzano, so that today, it undoubtedly finds itself in conditions of prosperity that are not enjoyed in similar mountain zones. It is necessary, however, to remember that agriculture, in addition to the widespread assistance and subsidies that it enjoys, certainly derives advantage from the institution of the "closed farm" (*maso chiusa*), in that property is not subject to the excessive and uneconomical divisions that take place in other places in Italy as, for example, in the province of Trento.

The closed farm, designed to safeguard real property rights, is however, also the cause that has resulted in the birth of an agricultural sub-proletariat, that in the middle of the twentieth century in Alto Adige, lives under extremely miserable conditions. When the Volkspartei or Kreisky speak of the miserable condition of non-natives, they are giving a distorted picture of things. They do not specify that the non-natives who are in charge of farms live extremely well, just as do businessmen and craftsmen in Alto Adige centers. The farm servant, that is, the Landsknecht, is the one who does not live well. He is obliged to work for a year for a very paltry remuneration of some tens of thousands of lire, after which, at the beginning of the new year, he appears in the markets to offer himself to the highest bidder.

But this problem was not created by Italy. The directors of the Volkspartei wanted it when they demanded (and got) a codification of the closed farm privilege.

It is quite true that in that law there is an article that attempts to safeguard personal as well as property rights by guaranteeing a liquidation of the part due them to joint heirs, but it is equally true that an infinite number of injustices is committed and that they do not always give rise to legal causes of action.

Controversy has always arisen from the evaluation of a holding

(masa) that according to law, should be based on income and not on sales value, and in the estimate, there are often widely differing valuations in proportions that are sometimes as high as 1 to 10. Therefore, the Volkspartei, which derives its strength from the proprietors of holdings, has elaborated a law to level these estimates - to a lower measure, naturally.

The person who operates the holding enjoys, however, ample privileges, both in taking over the holding, for which the province assists him by paying for the entire interest on a possible loan, and also in administrative matters with assistance for irrigation, contributions for building and subsidies for various titles.

Junior family members could find places in industry, but up to now, the Volkspartei has been decidedly against industrial development, so that only after the departure of the Volkspartei from the Committee of aldermen has the region been able to vote some laws in favor of a neglected and controversial industry.

If there is one sector of Alto Adige life in which responsibilities and interests are the exclusive domain of the Volkspartei, it's that of agriculture. But it is proper to say that this sector of the economy has not been at all abandoned, and when in certain books printed abroad (see the volume Italy in South Tyrol) they speak of the sad fate in store for the children of farmers, it should be specified that only the unilateral vision of the Volkspartei is responsible for certain situations.

VII. Public Housing

The question of public housing is one that the Volkspartei discovered during the Castelfirmiano period (November 1957) and to which it returns with particular delight, complaining that hardly 7% of the lodgings constructed by public agencies have been turned over to German speaking citizens. It can be said that the figures they cite in this respect are probably not incorrect, but that they do not mean anything unless they are seen in perspective. It is necessary, therefore, to see in what proportion the housing requests of the two linguistic groups have been acted upon. If it should turn out that for one group, 50% of the requests were turned down and for the other group, 5% were turned down, and that if the first, with its 50% of approved requests received 93% of the lodgings constructed and the second group, with its 95% of approved requests received 7% of the lodgings, how can it be said that the group obtaining 95% approval of its requests has been victimized, and how is it possible to lodge the accusation that the group receiving only 50% approval has been favored?

In reality, public housing grants in Alto Adige are made in accordance with rigid mathematical criteria, with favor being shown to those cases demonstrating the greatest need. The scale, then, is one that is based above all upon the scale of need. In other words, it is one of those scales that the Volkspartei rejects on principle, because

it maintains that only the principle of ethnic ratio is valid. If, for example, 100 lodgings are constructed in Alto Adige, 35, according to the principle of ethnic ratio, should go to Italian-speaking citizens and 65 to German-speaking citizens. Need, necessity and lack of comfort do not count, and no argument can be adduced to convince the Volkspartei of the absurdity of its request.

"Give those lodgings to us," they answer, "and we shall take the responsibility of assigning them."

It is evident that there is no possibility of arriving at an understanding with people who reason in this fashion. In reality, they know very well that arguments of this kind hold no water, but they hope because experience has led them to hope - that sooner or later, the Italian government, out of a love for peace, will concede on this point too.

VIII: Combat veteran and quasi-military organizations

During the first few postwar years, Alto Adige combat veterans, disabled veterans and others belonging to similar categories had joined together in Italian organizations. But now for the past two years, they have separated themselves from these organizations and given birth to other organizations that are either independent or associated with German or Austrian groups.

Despite the fact that legislators have created favorable conditions for Wehrmacht war veterans and disabled veterans, which, in fact, allowed them privileges not granted to other categories of Italian combatants, they do not feel the slightest gratitude toward the Italian government, nor are they disposed toward giving it the slightest recognition. There is always something for them to request, something to claim or something to demand. In the period in which Wehrmacht disabled veterans were deprived of their pensions, 40,000,000 lire a year were put at the disposal of Alto Adige authorities exclusively for assistance to Wehrmacht disabled veterans. Notwithstanding this, and despite the fact that they had fought in a foreign army, they organized a "March of Silence" in Bolzano parading without the prosthetic devices (arti) furnished them by the Italian government.

Recently at Caldarò, all Wehrmacht Alpine soldiers gathered for a combat veteran's meeting and paraded with the decorations and insignia of the Wehrmacht.

While Italian combat veteran organizations arranged meetings in order to fraternize with combatants of the enemy army, the organizations that are by now headed by men of the Volkspartei have never considered a demonstration of the kind but have, instead, organized political demonstrations that are systematically anti-Italian in spirit.

Especially grave in nature, owing to the spirit that animates them, are those quasi-military organizations that openly carry out activities that would immediately be put to an end if they were carried out by other Italian citizens in other regions of Italy.

The Schutzen companies (marksmen in the old Austrian army) have been reorganized with a military hierarchy, regular close-order drills, tactical drills and target firing on the many ranges that are becoming increasingly more numerous. The Schutzen are subject to military discipline and bound to very precise duties. They have nothing whatsoever to do with sports, cultural or folklore activities, just as the numerous bands financed by the province have nothing to do with musical activities when all they play in Alto Adige are old Austrian military hymns

IX. Administration of the Province

The autonomous province of Bolzano is in the hands of the Volkspartei to which belong the president of the Committee and four other German speaking aldermen. The Italians, represented by 2 Christian Democrats, are in a minority by a 5 to 2 count. Thus the Volkspartei has the possibility of doing what it wants, especially since there is no way of inspecting the Committee's activities. There exists no authority that can call the provincial administration back into line when it does not do its duty.

In the annual discussions of the treasury balance, the councilors do, indeed, request explanations and make comments, but this does no good, because the aldermen do not answer and lack completely any feeling of collective unity. In fact, when asked to account for certain allocations of public money, sometimes they do not even answer. German speaking aldermen have nothing to fear from the electorate, because there isn't an opposition press in German. When in discussions concerning the treasury balance, the comment was made several times that only the German language group was benefitting from certain arrangements and from the use of certain funds, they declared openly several times, "We only have to be concerned about German-speaking citizens. Let the government provide for the Italian-speaking ones. The autonomous province has the duty of helping and protecting the linguistic minority, and the Italians are in the majority."

This is argument that is echoed in writing in the report that accompanies the Tinzl project (on page 3) where it says that, "The danger of being absorbed and the necessity of having its existence and ethnic substance protected certainly doesn't exist for the members of the ethnic group of 48 million that leads the destinies of the government." Therefore, the province must above all provide for the minority.

If, on the other hand, we examine the sources of provincial income, we shall see that the contribution of farmers, more than 90% of whom are German speaking, is minimal, while the contribution of industry is notable.

The regular income in the 1959 provincial balance, for example, comes to a little less than 3,000,000,000 lire and is made up of:

- a. land surtaxes in the amount of about 63,682,000 lire.
- b. building surtaxes in the amount of about 121,023,000 lire
- c. industrial, commercial, private business and professional surtaxes in the amount of about 200,000,000

But the greatest source of provincial income is derived from the

9/10 of the federal tax yield which is given by statute to the province, and this 9/10 of federal tax comes from:

- a. taxes on land and agrarian incomes in the amount of 17,000,000 lire (of which 4,000,000 come from agrarian incomes)
- b. building taxes in the amount of 52,000,000 lire
- c. taxes on chattels and on industrial and commercial activities in the amount of 1,791,000,000 lire.

Finally, to recapitulate, it can be seen that while income from industry and commerce amounts to almost 2,000,000,000 (1,991,000,000 to be exact), income from agriculture amounts to only 89,000,000 lire.

The industry and commerce sectors of the economy yield 23 times more than the agricultural sector, and if the comparison is limited to the figure for federal treasury sharing only, the ratio is even greater: industry and commerce: 105; agriculture: 1. Since most of the income received from the industrial and commercial sectors of the economy is given precisely by industry, it can be safely concluded that the autonomous province of Bolzano carries on with the tax yield it receives from the most controversial economic activity which, in the final analysis, is a typically Italian activity.

FIGURE APPENDIX

(The following correspond to captions accompanying illustrations on the pages indicated in the original.)

1. p. 18 Processions of young people parade through Italian public squares to place laurel wreaths at the monuments of those Fallen in the Great War, following the news of the dynamiting attempts.
2. p. 23 Protest demonstration against attempts made on Italian sovereignty in Alto Adige
3. p. 25 At Castelfirmiano, Volkspartei posters carry lugubrious skull and chain symbols, but the Italians, who are forced to abandon Alto Adige because of continuous provocations, are the ones who send out the SOS.
4. p. 29 "Bolzano is Italian"
5. p. 32 Immediately after the attempt to dynamite the Cesare Battisti Mausoleum, Italian students, war veterans and members of combat veteran and patriotic organizations bring laurel wreaths to the tomb of the Italian Martyr.
6. p. 36 Youth ascends the Alter of the Homeland to reconsecrate an obligation: "The Brenner is Italian."
7. p. 42 "Get out of Trento": is the invitation extended to Italians considered foreigners in their own Homeland
8. p. 46 Every little municipality in Alto Adige has its fire department organized with rigid military discipline. The fire department shows up at every public demonstration and shows an ever increasing "spontaneous tendency" to turn into a body that tends to public order.
9. p. 49 It is evident from the provincial Balance Sheet that most of the "income" depends on Italian industrial initiative while most of the "expenditures" are made to the exclusive advantage of the other ethnic group
10. p. 52 5 March 1959: the Alto Adige population gathers before the tomb of Cesare Battisti after the grave provocation directed by Volkspartei elements

FIGURE APPENDIX (Continued)

11. p. 54 Every occasion, every anniversary serve as a pretext for new anti-Italian demonstrations.